

# CHAPTER 12

## BEAUTY AND THE BEAST

### Gender Integration and the Police in Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina\*

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#### 1. INTRODUCTION

Societies in general often consider policing to be a male profession. The end result is that most police forces are comprised primarily of men. This is the case in Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereby simply referred to as Bosnia) where, historically, few women have participated in law enforcement and where police culture has been heavily steeped in traditions of patriarchy and sexism (which were exacerbated by the 1992–1995 war). Gender integration, however, has become a focal point of the police reformation process in post-conflict Bosnia. Gender integration activities have largely targeted the recruitment, hiring, and advancement of female officers throughout Bosnia. As a result, women now currently constitute 6.3% of the Bosnian police force.<sup>1</sup> Despite the push to integrate females into the police force, little is known empirically about these women. Who are they? What are their experiences? What are their attitudes? What attracted them to policing? Are they ‘different’ than their male colleagues? And if so, how?

This essay will explore women’s participation and role as agents of change in the police reformation process in post-conflict Bosnia. Specific attention will be devoted to the characteristics, rankings, and attitudes of female officers serving in post-conflict Bosnia, with comparisons made with their male counterparts. Results from a survey of 10 female Bosnian police officers, as well as policy implications and suggestions for future research will be presented.

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<sup>1</sup> Agency for Gender Equality (AGE), *Women in Police: Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (2010), available at [www.eupm.org/FCKeditor/Images/File/Women\\_in\\_Police-Zene\\_u\\_policiji.pdf](http://www.eupm.org/FCKeditor/Images/File/Women_in_Police-Zene_u_policiji.pdf).

## 2. POLICE REFORMATION IN BOSNIA

The 1992–1995 war left Bosnia with three separate police forces; one for each ethnicity (Bosniak, Croat, and Serb). Subsequently, each police force had its own separate jurisdiction. While the Bosnian and Croatian police forces (aka Bosniak-Croat Federation) have since merged (at least by name), the Republika Srpska police force has flatly refused any and all efforts to integrate with the federation.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the law enforcement agencies operating at the state level (Bosniak-Croat Federation, Republika Srpska, Brčko District,<sup>3</sup> Border Police, and SIPA), each canton has a separate law enforcement agency (10 total cantons). The overall size of the Bosnian local police force in the post-war years was also problematic. It was estimated that in 1996 there were about 40,000 police officers operating in Bosnia, three times peacetime strength.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, there were very few ethnic minority and female police officers.<sup>5</sup>

The manner of police operations, as well as the overall structuring of the police, thus came under scrutiny following the signing of the Dayton Accords.<sup>6</sup> As a result, the Accord, per Annex 11, directly asked for assistance from the United Nations related to the reformation of the police in Bosnia. This included training and advisement of local law enforcement personnel, as well as monitoring and inspection of law enforcement activities and facilities.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, the achievement of a ‘transparent, accountable, democratic, and apolitical police force’ in Bosnia became the primary task of the United Nations Mission in Bosnia (UNMIBH).<sup>8</sup>

A major task for the UNMIBH involved reforming and restructuring civilian police structures within Bosnia, specifically related to the overall recruitment of

<sup>2</sup> International Crisis Group (ICG), *Bosnia's Stalled Police Reform: No Progress, No EU*, European Report No. 164 (6 September 2005).

<sup>3</sup> The Brčko District, population 78,863 (estimate), is a sovereign entity located in northeast Bosnia, formally part of both the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (aka Bosniak-Croat Federation) and Republika Srpska.

<sup>4</sup> As of 31 December 2009 there were 16,497 officers employed across the 15 law enforcement agencies operating in BiH, AGE, *supra* note 2; Graham Day, ‘The Training Dimension of the UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH)’, 7 *Int'l Peacekeeping* 155 (2000); United Nations, Report of the Security-General on the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, United Nations Security Council, 2/2002/1314, 2 December 2002.

<sup>5</sup> Day, *supra* note 4.

<sup>6</sup> The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina is also called the Dayton Accords, Paris Protocol, Dayton-Paris Agreement, or the Dayton Peace Agreement. This agreement was reached in Dayton, Ohio in November 1995 and formally signed in Paris, France on 14 December 1995. See Paul C. Szasz, ‘The Protection of Human Rights Through the Dayton/Paris Peace Agreement on Bosnia’, 90 *Am. J. of Int'l Law* 301 (1996). The Dayton Peace Agreement put an end to the 1992–1995 Bosnian War.

<sup>7</sup> Office of the High Representative (OHR), *Agreement on International Police Force: Annex 11*, available at [www.ohr.int/print/?content\\_id=367](http://www.ohr.int/print/?content_id=367).

<sup>8</sup> Day, *supra* note 4 at 158.

minority and female officers.<sup>9</sup> The UNMIBH set benchmarks in terms of minority representation that were based on the 1991 Census in the Federation and the 1997 election registration in the Republika Srpska.<sup>10</sup> Not only was minority representation important in terms of implementing fair and democratic policing in Bosnia, it was believed that the deployment of minority officers would encourage minority returns to pre-war areas across Bosnia.<sup>11</sup>

Historically, few women have participated in policing in Bosnia. Pre-war estimates suggest that only 3% of the police force were female.<sup>12</sup> The UNMIBH, referencing European female policing levels of 10%, considered the number of Bosnian female officers too low. As such, the UNMIBH made female recruitment, enrollment, and retention a secondary focus of their reformation endeavors.

### 3. GENDER INTEGRATION AS PART OF THE POLICE REFORMATION PROCESS

The international community has championed gender integration largely from a reformation standpoint. The gender makeup of a nation's police force can have significant effects in Bosnia because the country's chances of European Union (EU) membership depend on, among other things, the quality of the police institution. A gender diverse police force is necessary because, unlike male police officers, female officers generally exercise a style of policing that uses less physical force resulting in decreased citizen complaints. Decreased citizen complaints, in turn, lead to a reduction in civil liability payouts stemming from excessive force lawsuits.<sup>13</sup> In addition, female police officers have been found to be more skilled at alleviating potentially violent confrontations with offenders, communicating with offenders, and responding to violence against women.<sup>14</sup> Finally, research has indicated that female officers are proficient at expediting cooperation required to implement community policing models<sup>15</sup>; models more in line with democratic policing styles pushed by the UNMIBH.

<sup>9</sup> Day, *supra* note 4.

<sup>10</sup> United Nations, *supra* note 4.

<sup>11</sup> Gemma Collantes Celador, 'Police Reform: Peacebuilding Through "Democratic Policing"?', 12 *Int'l Peacekeeping* 364 (2005).

<sup>12</sup> AGE, *supra* note 1.

<sup>13</sup> National Center for Women and Policing, *Men, Women, and Police Excessive Force: A Tale of Two Genders* (2002), available at [www.womenandpolicing.org/PDF/2002\\_Excessive\\_Force.pdf](http://www.womenandpolicing.org/PDF/2002_Excessive_Force.pdf).

<sup>14</sup> National Center for Women and Policing, *Hiring and Retaining More Women The Advantages to Law Enforcement Agencies* (2003), available at [www.womenandpolicing.org/pdf/NewAdvantagesReport.pdf](http://www.womenandpolicing.org/pdf/NewAdvantagesReport.pdf).

<sup>15</sup> L. Anderson (19 September 2003), *Women in law enforcement*. Retrieved from [www.emich.edu/cerns/downloads/papers/PoliceStaff/Police%20Personnel%20\(e.g., %20Selection,%20%20Promotion\)/Women%20in%20Law%20Enforcement.pdf](http://www.emich.edu/cerns/downloads/papers/PoliceStaff/Police%20Personnel%20(e.g.,%20Selection,%20%20Promotion)/Women%20in%20Law%20Enforcement.pdf).

### 3.1. RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING

Active recruitment of females into the police force in Bosnia is a recent post-war phenomenon as prior to the war, few women participated in law enforcement. Recruitment activities, as part of the reformation process, have targeted the recruitment, hiring, and advancement of female officers throughout Bosnia. As a result, 6.3% of the Bosnian police force in 2009 was female (N = 1,039 female officers; AGE, 2010). Female participation is the highest in the Bosniak-Croat Federation (7.9%) and lowest in the Central Bosnian Canton (3.21%).<sup>16</sup>

While female recruitment efforts have increased in recent years, police agencies do not earmark positions exclusively for female candidates.<sup>17</sup> Rather, female candidates compete for jobs with their male counterparts. Likewise, recruitment criteria are similar, regardless of candidate gender. This includes a test of general knowledge, a written essay, and a physical test. It is important to note that the scoring of the physical test is adjusted for female candidates, taking into account gender differences related to weight, height, and physical abilities.<sup>18</sup>

When a female police officer candidate becomes a police official, the same policies and practices apply to her as to her male counterparts. The particular position for which she is hired delegates her obligations, and she has, by law, the same rights to promotions and rank climbing as a male police officer.<sup>19</sup>

### 3.2. PROMOTION

Very few female police officers have risen to positions of higher rank. For instance, only 0.4% of Senior Sergeants, 1.2% of Sergeants, 3.4% of Senior Police Officers, and 10.7% of Police Officers were female in 2009.<sup>20</sup> It is important to note, however, that this recent active promotion supported by the reformation process may be a reason not only for a lack of female police officials overall, but especially of those in higher ranks. Because most female officers joined the force in the post-war years, they have not been able to accumulate the required years of service to serve in higher ranks and positions. To remedy this fact, some policing agencies in Bosnia have changed pre-promotion assessment requirements to only include the last year of service, meaning that those applying for promotion must have positive assessments only dating back the last year of

<sup>16</sup> AGE, *supra* note 1.

<sup>17</sup> Of recent, several cantons have implemented 'procedures' for taking into consideration the gender of 'equally qualified' candidates in the hiring process. *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

service.<sup>21</sup> This is a great incentive for those female employees who are new to their careers.

Unfortunately, some cantons in Bosnia still abide by the older three-year of prior service requirement, which excludes many of the new female officials from even applying for promotions. This is also a negative mark for females who wish to expand their families because a year of maternity-leave counts against a female officer in her years of service.<sup>22</sup>

### 3.3. WORKING CONDITIONS

Policing agencies in Bosnia have begun modifying their offices and workplaces to meet European Union standards. Issues such as separate restrooms for male and female officers have been addressed in all but two police stations in the country.<sup>23</sup> Besides toilettes, locker rooms create another issue in Bosnian policing agencies. Police officials, male and female, report to work in uniform as most police stations (built prior to the war) lack locker rooms whatsoever, and those that do have locker rooms, lack separate male and female facilities.<sup>24</sup> Newly constructed police agency buildings, however, are built to accommodate separate dormitories, locker rooms, and restrooms for male and female officers.

### 3.4. MATERNITY LEAVE

Pregnancy and motherhood differentiates female from male police officials everywhere, and this is a gender-specific issue that requires major consideration. Maternity leave in Bosnia is regulated by the labor legislation. Female officers are entitled up to 12 months of paid maternity leave which may start 28 days before their expected due date.<sup>25</sup> The Bosniak-Croat Federation requires all new mothers to stay on maternity leave for a minimum of 42 days after delivery. The Republika Srpska, on the other hand, requires a minimum 60 day maternity leave after delivery.<sup>26</sup> Once one's mandatory leave has been exhausted, new mothers may return to work if they so desire. Throughout Bosnia, most female officers do not use all 12 months of their maternity leave for economic reasons. While on maternity leave, female officers do not receive allowances for meals and transportation. Furthermore, their salary is significantly reduced.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

The labor legislation also regulates the reassignment of pregnant female police officials to less demanding duties during pregnancy or lactation, if the reassignment is medically prescribed. This temporary redeployment should not affect the female official's salary, and if the redeployment is not possible, the female official should be entitled to paid absence from work. A major issue with redeployment, however, is that there are no provisions in place to promote successful reintegration of mothers who return from maternity leave.<sup>28</sup>

### 3.5. POLICE MISCONDUCT

In terms of disciplinary procedures, allegations of police misconduct among female officers are relatively low in Bosnia. In 2008 there were 45 counts of misconduct filed against female officers (4.3% of female officers and 0.3% of all officers). Of these 45 counts, only 10 (22%) were found to be grounded.<sup>29</sup> Sanctions for these incidents ranged from monetary fines to written reprimands. Overall, female police officers are viewed by their commanding officers as being 'more disciplined than their male colleagues'.<sup>30</sup>

According to a 2008 report, only two complaints pertaining to sexual harassment and gender discrimination were filed by female officers.<sup>31</sup> This may be an indication of either good or bad news. If such figures are accurate, actual incidence of sexual harassment and gender discrimination appears low. The Agency for Gender Equality in Bosnia, however, argues that low reporting percentages more than likely stem from an overall misunderstanding of what constitutes gender discrimination and/or harassment. Furthermore, underreporting may occur because female officers aspire to be seen as equal to their male counterparts ('one of the boys'), thus not wanting to highlight differences (real and perceived) by reporting such issues. Finally, underreporting of sexual harassment and gender discrimination may result from female officers' fears that they will be the targets of further harassment, discrimination, and retribution in a dominantly masculine working environment.<sup>32</sup>

## 4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The overall structuring and operation of the police in Bosnia has come under scrutiny at the international, state, and local levels. Reformation and restructuring has, and continues to be, a major focus of the peace-building

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* at 15.

<sup>31</sup> AGE, *supra* note 1.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

process in post-conflict Bosnia. Gender integration has become an important component of this process. Yet, very little is known about female police officers in this region of the world. The current study provides one of the first examinations of female police officers within post-conflict Bosnia. Four specific questions will be explored. First, are there demographic differences between female and male officers in Bosnia? Second, are education and training experiences different for female compared to male officers? Third, are work experiences different for female compared to male officers? Finally, is there gender variation in attitudes held regarding female officers among officers in the sample?

## 5. METHODS

Data collection for the current study was conducted at the State Investigation and Protection Agency (SIPA) in Sarajevo, Bosnia in June 2009.<sup>33</sup> All SIPA officers working over the course of two days were invited to participate in the survey. SIPA officers, upon reporting to duty, were asked to participate in the study and were given an informed consent form, envelope, and a 12-page pencil-and-paper survey to complete in the privacy of their own home. All study instruments were translated from English into Bosnian. Upon completion of the survey, respondents were instructed to insert the questionnaire into a provided unmarked envelope, seal it, and return the sealed envelope to their commander at the station headquarters when reporting for duty the following day. Respondents were informed that none of the envelopes would be opened until the lead researcher returned to the United States (US). Bosnian officers were provided \$10 (American dollars) as remuneration for participation in the study. Data entry and analysis were conducted in the US.

Over the course of two days, 150 surveys were distributed of which 137 surveys were returned (91.1% response rate). Of these 137 respondents, 10 (7.3%<sup>34</sup>) identified themselves as female. The current essay focuses primarily on these 10 women. Comparisons will be made against their male counterparts ( $n = 127$ ). While female officers have played a pivotal role in the reformation process in Bosnia, little is known empirically about these women. This essay attempts to rectify this problem through the exploration of female officers' demographic characteristics, current rank, and attitudes related to women and policing.

<sup>33</sup> Created in 2002, SIPA is the first police agency in Bosnia with full authorization across the entire Bosnian territory, whose responsibilities include prevention, investigation of criminal offenses, detection, protection of VIPs and buildings, and protection of witnesses. See [www.sipa.gov.ba/en/onama.php](http://www.sipa.gov.ba/en/onama.php).

<sup>34</sup> This is a slightly higher percentage than the total proportion of female officers among SIPA forces. According to a 2009 report, females comprised 6.4% of SIPA officers ( $N=74$ ). AGE, *supra* note 1.

## 6. FEMALE BOSNIAN NATIONAL POLICE OFFICERS

*Demographics.* Participants were asked a variety of questions related to demographic characteristics, including age, ethnicity, religion, education, marital status, and length of marriage. They also were asked whether they resided with extended family, had children (and the number of children) and whether or not they lived with their children.

The women surveyed ranged in age from 25 to 40, and the mean age of the sample was 31.70 years ( $SD = 5.06$ ). Among this population, ethnicity and religion are closely tied (i.e., Bosnians are mainly Muslim, Croats are mainly Catholic, and Serbs are mainly Orthodox). It was not surprising then to find that the vast majority of women self identified as being Bosnian (60%) and Muslim (60%).

A large proportion of the women were married (80%). The average length of marriage was 10.50 years ( $SD = 5.58$ ). Nearly three-quarters of the women (70%) had at least one child ( $M = 1.71$  children,  $SD = 0.49$ ) with whom they resided. A smaller proportion (25%) of the married respondents lived with extended family members (i.e., parents, spouse's parents, etc.) in addition to living with their spouse and children.

Overall, comparisons between the two groups on demographic characteristics indicated few significant differences (see Table 1). Male and female officers were quite similar in terms of education, nationality, and religion. The only statistically significant difference between the two groups involved age. Male officers were, on average, almost 4 years older ( $M = 35.6$  years) than their female counterparts ( $M = 31.7$  years;  $t = -1.757, p < .10$ ).

A higher percentage of the female officers were single (20%) compared with male officers (12.9%), but this was not a significant difference. Among those who were married, the average length of marriage was similar (almost 11 years). While more men had children (80%) compared to women (70%), this difference was not significant. Among those who were parents, the average number of children was similar (slightly less than 2) and nearly all the parents (100% of female officers and 95% of male officers) resided in the same household as their children. Although a slightly higher percentage of the married male officers resided with extended family (32.4% compared with 28.6%), this difference also was not statistically significant.



Table 1. Demographic characteristics

Variable	Females (n = 10)	Males (n = 137)	Test Statistic
Age in years <sup>†</sup> (mean/SD)	31.70 (5.056)	35.6 (6.884)	$t(13) = -1.757$
Ethnicity			$\chi^2(2) = 0.601$
Bosnian	60.0%	69.0%	
Croatian	20.0%	11.9%	
Serbian	20.0%	19.0%	
Religion			$\chi^2(3) = 0.726$
Muslim	60.0%	67.5%	
Catholic	20.0%	11.9%	
Orthodox	20.0%	19.0%	
Other	0.0%	1.6%	
Marital Status			$\chi^2(3) = 0.837$
Single	20.0%	12.9%	
Married	80.0%	82.3%	
Divorced	0.0%	3.2%	
Separated	0.0%	1.6%	
Length of Marriage <sup>a</sup> (years)	10.50 (5.581)	10.67 (6.731)	$t(9) = -0.071$
Resides with extended family <sup>a</sup>	28.6%	32.4%	$\chi^2(1) = 0.250$
Has children	70.0%	80.2%	$\chi^2(1) = 0.585$
Number of children <sup>b</sup>	1.71 (0.488)	1.58 (0.591)	$t(8) = 0.573$
Resides with children <sup>b</sup>	100.0%	95.0%	$\chi^2(1) = 0.479$

a. Calculated among those married (n = 8 females; n = 102 males).

b. Calculated among those with children (n = 7 females; n = 101 males).

\*\*\*p < .001; \*\*p < .01; \*p < .05, †p < .10, 2-tailed.

***Education/Training.*** Questions were asked about the respondents' education and job training received. Respondents were quite similar with respect to education (see Table 2). All of the women surveyed had at least a high school education (57.1%), with the highest grade completed being a 4 year degree (M = 13.43 years of education; SD = 1.90; range 12 – 16 years). Similarly, all the men surveyed had at least a high school education (49.4%), with the highest grade completed being a graduate degree (M = 13.76 years of education; SD = 2.052; range 11 – 20 years).

While having received training related to domestic violence was a fairly common experience for male officers (49.2%), only 2 of the female officers (20%) had received this type of training. Very few male officers (23%) indicated that they had received training pertaining to rape and sexual assault. Even more unexpected, none of the female officers (0%) indicated that they had received rape/sexual assault training. These differences were statistically significant ( $\chi^2 = 3.166, p < .10$  and  $\chi^2 = 2.913, p < .10$  respectively).

Table 2. Education, training, & ranking

Variable	Females ( <i>n</i> = 10)	Males ( <i>n</i> = 137)	Test Statistic
Highest Grade Completed (year)	13.43 (1.902)	13.76 (2.052)	<i>t</i> (8) = - 0.411
Years in Police**	7.22 (5.563)	12.824 (4.910)	<i>t</i> (11) = - 3.256
Rank*			$\chi^2$ (2) = 4.159
Low	20.0%	12.3%	
Mid	70.0%	44.7%	
High	10.0%	43.0%	
Domestic Violence Training*	20.0%	49.2%	$\chi^2$ (1) = 3.166
Rape/Sexual Assault Training*	0.0%	23.0%	$\chi^2$ (1) = 2.913

\*\**p* < .001; \**p* < .10, 2-tailed.

*Position/Work Experiences.* Questions were asked about the respondents' current ranking and work experiences. Overall, the women surveyed have worked for the police on average 7.22 years (SD = 5.56; range 1 – 15 years). The vast majority of these women held the position of Police Officer (*Policajac*; 70%), followed by Junior Inspector (*Mladi Inspector*; 20%), and finally Senior Sergeant (*Stariji Policajac*; 10%).

When compared against their male counterparts, several significant differences are found related to rank. Female officers are almost twice as likely as their male colleagues to be in an entry level position (20% of female officers compared to 12.3% of male officers) or mid-level position (70% of female officers compared to 44.7% of male officers) within the force. Male officers, on the other hand, are almost four times as likely to be in an upper ranking position (43%) compared to their female colleagues (10%). These differences were statistically significant ( $\chi^2 = 4.159, p < .10$ ).

Respondents were also asked about their experiences on the job. Analyses indicate several differences between groups when it comes to these experiences

(see Table 3). While the majority of female officers have worked with a female police officer (100%), a small proportion of men (72%) had worked with a female officer, a difference, that is statistically significant ( $\chi^2 = 3.78$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Overall, male police officer were more likely to have witnessed a shooting incident (24% of male officers compared with 10% of female officers), witnessed the abuse of a child (17.4% of male officers compared with 10% of female officers) or elder (17% of male officers compared with 0% of female officers), witnessed a suicide (20.7% of male officers compared to 0% of female officers) or a fellow police officer being killed (6.6% of male officers compared to 0.6% of female officers). Very few officers had been personally investigated for an offense (2.4% of the men compared with 0% of the women). Only 1 male officer reported having killed someone while on duty. These differences were not statistically significant.

**Table 3. Work experiences**

Variable	Females ( <i>n</i> = 10)	Males ( <i>n</i> = 137)	Test Statistic
Work with Female Police Officers*	100.0%	72.0%	$\chi^2 (1) = 3.78$
Personally been investigated for an offense	0.0%	2.4%	$\chi^2 (2) = 0.252$
Witnessed a shooting incident	30.0%	24.0%	$\chi^2 (4) = 1.115$
Witnessed the abuse of a child	10.0%	17.4%	$\chi^2 (3) = 1.739$
Witnessed the abuse of a woman	10.0%	24.2%	$\chi^2 (4) = 6.268$
Been personally assaulted	10.0%	34.4%	$\chi^2 (4) = 2.599$
Witnessed the abuse of an elder	0.0%	17.2%	$\chi^2 (3) = 2.047$
Witnessed a suicide	0.0%	20.7%	$\chi^2 (3) = 2.553$
Killed someone	0.0%	0.8%	$\chi^2 (1) = 0.083$
Witnessed a fellow police officer being killed	0.0%	6.6%	$\chi^2 (2) = 0.704$

\* $p < .05$ , 2-tailed.

*Attitudes regarding Female Police Officers.* In addition to the demographic characteristics, participants were asked to respond to a variety of statements reflecting attitudinal factors related to women as police officers. These items were adapted from a questionnaire constructed by Vega and Silverman.<sup>35</sup> For

<sup>35</sup> M. Vega and I.J. Silverman, 'Female Police Officers as Viewed by their Male Counterparts', 5 *Police Studies* 31 (1982).

this study, 20 questions were asked.<sup>36</sup> Participants indicated their level of agreement or disagreement with each statement on a 4-point scale with higher values reflecting a greater level of agreement with the item.

The first subscale, consisting of 8 items, reflects the individual's belief that women may not be suited for police work because of physical and/or personality characteristics (i.e., physical strength, propensity to panic, etc.) traditionally affiliated with females ( $\alpha = .815$ ). The subscale score was calculated by summing together the 8 items. Higher scores indicate a greater level of agreement. A comparison of the scores between female and male police officers indicates that, as might be expected, male officers hold more stereotypical attitudes towards female police officers ( $t = -1.448$ ;  $p = .07$ , one-tailed).

The second subscale, consisting of 10 items, represents the individual's opinion that women are as effective as men as police officers ( $\alpha = .854$ ). The overall subscale score was calculated by summing up the 10 items. Higher values indicate greater concurrence with the belief that female police officers are as effective at their job as male police officers. Female officers had higher average scores on this measure compared with male officers (33.8 compared with 29.95;  $t = 1.815$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

The third subscale captures an individual's belief regarding potential problems that female police officers may experience on the job related to their gender (i.e., sex exploitation). The overall subscale score was calculated by summing up the two items ( $\alpha = .665$ ). Higher values indicate stronger agreement that female police officers are more likely to experience problems because of their gender. Not surprisingly, average scores were higher among the male officers (4.83) compared to the female officers (4.30), but this difference was not statistically significant.

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<sup>36</sup> The original survey included 21 items. One of those items ('My spouse or partner would object to me having a female police partner') is not applicable to this population because the respondents are all women; therefore it was excluded from the survey ( $\alpha = 0.865$  for the 20-item scale).

Table 4. Internal consistency reliability for scale items

Item	Females ( <i>n</i> = 10)			Males ( <i>n</i> = 137)			Test Statistic
	$\alpha$	M	SD	$\alpha$	M	SD	
<b>Perceptions of Female Characteristics &amp; Patrol Duties†</b>	.815	14.60	4.789	.784	16.63	4.214	<i>t</i> (127) = -1.448
Women should not be considered for police work.		1.50	1.080		1.66	0.896	
A female police officer's presence can calm a violent suspect.		3.20	.632		2.83	0.712	
Women are too soft hearted for police work.		1.50	.972		1.93	0.825	
Women are not physically strong enough for police work.		2.00	1.054		2.06	0.803	
Female police officers should not be assigned to violent areas.		2.20	1.229		2.41	0.853	
Women are not capable of handling violent situations.		1.50	0.707		2.08	0.806	
Women are not assertive enough to enforce the law vigorously.		1.40	.699		1.88	0.839	
Because women panic too easily they would not be effective police officers.		1.30	.675		1.78	0.876	
<b>The Effectiveness of Females as Police Officers*</b>	.854	33.80	4.962	.910	29.95	6.540	<i>t</i> (123) = 1.815
Female police officers are as skilled as male police officers in handling firearms.		3.50	0.972		3.07	0.891	
Female police officers are as effective as male police officers in:							
a. Performing all aspects of police work.		3.70	0.483		3.08	0.859	
b. Handling violent situations.		2.80	0.632		2.80	0.905	
c. Controlling a crowd.		3.20	0.632		2.33	0.956	
d. Arresting an intoxicated suspect.		2.60	0.669		2.39	1.028	
e. Performing undercover work.		3.80	0.632		3.43	0.792	
f. Arresting a female suspect.		3.90	0.316		3.55	0.704	
g. Traffic control.		3.60	0.516		3.47	0.786	
h. Arresting a known felon.		3.00	1.247		2.42	1.042	
i. Handling domestic disturbances.		3.70	0.949		3.25	0.826	
<b>Potential Problems with Females as Police Officers</b>	.665	4.30	2.003	.483	4.83	1.838	<i>t</i> (129) = -0.865
Female police officers are more likely to be sexually exploited than male police officers.		2.50	1.354		2.54	1.151	
Female police officers are more likely to use sex to advance their position in the police department than are male police officers.		1.80	0.919		2.28	1.108	

\**p* < .05, †*p* = .07, 1-tailed.

## 7. CONCLUSION

Following the signing of the Dayton Peace Accord in December 1995, Bosnia set about the hard work of transitioning from a former communist republic to an independent democratic nation-state, a transition that has largely been managed and controlled by men. Men, by taking on the role of soldiers, protectors, and leaders, commandeered full control over public and political life. In addition to the declining status of women in the public sphere, a rise in traditional gender attitudes was also experienced in postwar Bosnia. The end result has been a narrowing of roles for women and an overall decline in opportunities for participation in the paid labor market.<sup>37</sup> One exception to this has been the police, where gender integration has become an ancillary component of the reformation process in post-conflict Bosnia.

In the immediate post-war period, women, who comprised less than 3% of the Bosnian police force, yet about half of the overall population, were underrepresented in policing.<sup>38</sup> Unsatisfied with these low rates of female participation, the UNMIBH set a benchmark gender ratio of at least 10% based on European standards. Subsequently, gender integration efforts have largely focused on female recruitment, enrollment, and retention in the Bosnian police.

Yet, little is known about the women at the center of these endeavors. This study provided one of the first empirical descriptions of female police officers in post-conflict Bosnia. Ten female SIPA officers agreed to participate in this study in the summer of 2008. Of these women, 60% identify themselves as Bosnian Muslims, and 70% have families outside of work with at least one child. The female police officers surveyed agreed that women are as effective as their male counterparts related to policing duties. Most of the female police officers surveyed disagreed that female police officers are more likely to be sexually exploited than male police officers, but those that agreed with that statement did so strongly.

It is believed that females can have a buffering effect in a masculine policing environment, such as the case in post-war Bosnia where traditions of patriarchy, masculinity, and sexism are rampant among the police.<sup>39</sup> However, just increasing the number of women on the force will not ensure the adoption of a 'gender-sensitive' perspective. Contrary to popular belief, women are not

<sup>37</sup> Vanessa Pupavac, 'Empowering Women? An Assessment of International Gender Policies in Bosnia', 12 *Int'l Peacekeeping* 448 (2005).

<sup>38</sup> Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), World Factbook (2010), available at [www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/countrytemplate\\_bk.html](http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/countrytemplate_bk.html).

<sup>39</sup> Elissa Helms, 'Gendered Transformations of State Power: Masculinity, International Intervention, and the Bosnian Police', 34 *Nationalities Papers: J. of Nationalism and Ethnicity* 343 (2006).

naturally more gender-sensitive than their male counterparts, nor do they always push for gender reforms. In fact, more often than not, those women entering 'masculine' work environments will adopt traditionally masculine behavior. The end result is that while there are more females on the force compared to before, entrenched gendered roles, attitudes, and behavior have largely remained consistent among the police.

While an important first step, gender integration efforts need to move beyond simply increasing the number of women participating in law enforcement. Attention needs to be directed at gender sensitivity training for all police officers. There are currently two police academies operating in Bosnia, neither of which offers specialized instruction on gender issues. A 2009 survey conducted by the Agency for Gender Equality in Bosnia found that 'almost all interviewed [police] officials agreed that ... cadets should be trained in gender equality and gender-sensitive policing practices' and that current programming offered through the academy or out sourced to local Non-Governmental Organizations is not meeting these needs.<sup>40</sup>

Furthermore, this study found that an alarming number of the police (male or female) had not received domestic violence and/or sexual assault training. Due to the prevalence of gender-based violence in post-conflict countries, the most significant police reform efforts are those that address sexual and domestic violence. In Bosnia, a plan (referred to as the UNSCR 1325 plan<sup>41</sup>) is currently in place to incorporate gender equality issues into the curriculum of police academies nationwide. The main issues to be addressed include principles of equal opportunity, gender discrimination, as well as the prohibition of sexual and domestic violence and gender-based violence.<sup>42</sup> While a good step, further reform efforts should acknowledge better ways for law enforcement to prevent and investigate crimes of sexual and domestic violence, as well as provide support for victims of such crimes.

In conclusion, more needs to be done to make the police in post-conflict Bosnia gender sensitive. The aforementioned gender training can be beneficial for the Bosnian police, as it can create respectful and gender-aware attitudes in the work environment for both male and female police officials, as well as towards all

<sup>40</sup> AGE, *supra* note 1 at 12.

<sup>41</sup> The action plan for the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been designed with the main goal of improving the security situation. The action plan includes eight areas of focus: 1. Increasing the number of women in decision-making roles, 2. Participation of women in police and military forces, 3. Women in peace-keeping missions, 4. Trafficking in human beings, 5. De-mining, 6. Women, civil victims of war, 7. Training civil servants and other responsible employees, and 8. Cooperation of the institutions with non-governmental and international organizations. *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> AGE, *supra* note 1.

civilians within the general population. For gender integration to truly take hold and challenge the overtly masculine and sexist policing environment predominate in Bosnia, a 'critical mass' of female officers is necessary. This 'critical mass', often believed to be at 30%, can be achieved through a rigorous campaign of recruitment, hiring, and promotion of female officers.<sup>43</sup>

## 8. LIMITATIONS & FUTURE STUDIES

While an important first step at addressing an understudied area in policing and comparative research, the current study has some important limitations including a small sample size. Furthermore, because subjects were not selected randomly, the sample clearly is not representative of Bosnian female police officers as a whole.

Despite the limitations of sample size and representativeness, the current study provides a much needed exploratory analysis of the characteristics, experiences and attitudes of female officers in light of the police reformation movement in Bosnia, and suggests some directions for future research in this area. Questions remain as to why females would choose to become a police officer in a post-war environment marked by patriarchy and sexism. Research that has examined motives for entering law enforcement in the US finds women's motivations to be altruistic (i.e., wanting to help others) and practical (i.e., wanting a job with good benefits and security<sup>44</sup>). Perhaps this is the same for Bosnian women. Helms, in her ethnographic field work on the police in Zenica, Bosnia, found that among female officers the 'main reasons for joining the police had been the prospect of a steady income'.<sup>45</sup>

Factors outside of salary should be examined as potential reasons for seeking out a career in law enforcement. For example, personal aspirations (i.e., it has been my lifelong dream), altruistic factors (i.e., opportunity to help people in the community, to enforce the laws of society), opportunities (or lack thereof; i.e., opportunities for career advancement, lack of other career alternatives), employment benefits (i.e., job security, medical/pension benefits, early retirement), and the nature of police work (i.e., excitement, to fight crime, ability to work on your own, profession carries prestige, job carries power and authority) need to be explored.

<sup>43</sup> Louise Olsson, 'Mainstreaming Gender in Multidimensional Peacekeeping: A Field Perspective', 7 *Int'l Peacekeeping* 1.

<sup>44</sup> Anthony J. Raganella and Michael D. White, 'Race, Gender, and Motivation for Becoming a Police Officer: Implications for Building a Representative Police Department', 32 *J. of Criminal Justice* 501.

<sup>45</sup> Helms, *supra* note 38.



Finally, even after extensive campaigns to increase the number of female officers on the force, female participation in policing remains paltry. The reasons for women's low interest in police positions are hard to define. Some possible explanations include the old adage that policing is a man's job, the discouragement of real or perceived problems of sexual harassment and discrimination, and the lack of the authorities' understanding of women's specific needs.<sup>46</sup> Motivations, as well as barriers, for joining the police become increasingly important considering that little is known about why female representation in the Bosnian police is so low, despite the push to recruit, hire, and advance female officers. These are important questions that future studies need to address.

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<sup>46</sup> AGE, *supra* note 1.

